ADULT PROBATION RESEARCH STUDY 1973

Alberta

ATTORNEY GENERAL

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
I.	SCOPE	1
II.	INTEGRATION INTO THE LITERATURE	3
III.	THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	7
IV.	DATA COLLECTION	9
V.	SAMPLE	14
VI.	FINDINGS	25
VII.	FUTURE RESEARCH AND SUGGESTIONS	50
	APPENDIX I - Adult Probation in Alberta	52
	APPENDIX II - An Example of a Pre-Sentence Report	56
	APPENDIX III - The Questionnaire	60

P R E F A C E

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Invariably, any research project which functions effectively must have help from people external to those working on the project. The Adult Probation project was no different. At this time I would like to take the opportunity to thank the various people and agencies involved with us who helped make this first attempt a satisfying experience.

I will attempt to give recognition to those persons in chronological order as they came into contact with the project -

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Miss Terry Pezzot, Research Assistant

Miss Gayle Speers, Research Assistant

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Overall, we found this research project to be very exciting, as well as a rewarding experience. It has provided our service with some objective information about the type of work we have done and it has pinpointed some areas that can be improved in the future. If this research is used properly as a tool available to correctional workers, we have opened up a whole new area within which we can work.

The future of probation appears to be bright in Alberta, and hopefully projects of this nature will be used again to assist in maintaining a high standard of service.

Roy Bricker

Roy Bricker,
Project Director

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I. SCOPE

Probation is a relatively recent innovation in the sentencing of adult criminal offenders. As early as 1820, English magistrates were passing sentences suggestive of probation, but it was not until some forty years later that the practice received statutory recognition. The state of Massachusetts is credited with legally instituting the first organized supervision of offenders for which they coined the term 'probation'. Canada's initial adult probation service was started in Ontario in 1922. The use of such correctional services rapidly expanded to other parts of Canada with formal recognition coming only after several years of informal practice. Alberta exercised some form of adult probationary supervision from 1940, but legislation legalizing the practice was not instituted until 1954 with the formation of the Alberta Adult Probation Branch.[1]

Over its short history in Alberta, the use of probation as a type of adult correctional service has greatly intensified. By 1961, only seven years after its introduction, fourteen percent of those persons over sixteen years of age convicted of indictable offences, were placed on probation.[2]

This rapid increase, seen not only in Alberta but in all judicial systems using probation, can be attributed to several factors. A change of attitude toward the purposes and effects of punishment has resulted in probation emerging as a major viable alternative to incarceration. The traditional goals of expiation, retribution, and deterrence have been increasingly replaced by a policy stressing re-adjustment under non-institutional conditions. The present attitude is that the offender will better benefit by remaining in the community rather than having to adjust to the community upon release. This change to a more liberal attitude has been reinforced by the much lesser cost of probation. While it costs only $1.00 per day to keep an offender under probationary supervision (exclusive of capital costs),[3] it costs from $13.41 to $30.03 per day to keep an offender incarcerated in a provincial correction institution in Alberta.[4] A further factor supporting the use of probation is the popular notion that it is a very effective deterrent to further criminal activity. Although this may be accurate, few attempts at an evaluation of probation's effectiveness have been undertaken. Accordingly, this research was implemented to fulfill this need.

Several aims guided the course of this study. The major concern was to provide

an evaluation of probation in Alberta. Recidivism rates were used as a gauge of probation effectiveness. They were determined on a Province-wide sample of all people convicted of criminal offences in Alberta between January 1st, 1967, and December 31st, 1971, whose disposition included probation. Recidivism rates were computed not only for the period of time on probation, but also for the period of time after probation terminated, until December 31st, 1972. A further purpose was to develop a prediction technique based on such probationers' characteristics as age, sex, area of residence, education, and previous convictions, which would indicate which people would be most likely to re-offend.

A more complete understanding of which people are most likely to succeed on probation would allow correctional authorities to maximize their effectiveness. Through a screening of offenders before placement on probation or through differential treatment of those on probation, such a goal could be realized. This prediction technique combined with the recidivism rate information would provide the Correctional Service with valid feedback on its service, indicating areas to be improved and further developed.

II. INTEGRATION INTO THE LITERATURE

Even though the use of probation as a method of dealing with the adult criminal offenders has expanded over the past few years, few studies evaluating its effectiveness have been undertaken. A review of the literature shows a number of studies comparing probation with imprisonment, but few have concentrated on probation exclusively. Literature on Canadian probation is even more scarce. Only one survey, conducted by the Ontario Probation Officer's Association, has to date been published. The work that has been done tends to concern probation in Britain and the United States.

Success and failure rates and the factors affecting such rates are the concern of these studies. The reported success rates tend to cluster around 68.0 percent, however rates as high as 82.3 percent and as low as 52.5 percent have been obtained. Variables such as type of offence, type of community, the offender's age, sex, race, and number of previous convictions have been considered as factors affecting recidivism. All the studies seem to indicate that age, previous record and type of offence provide significant variations in overall recidivism rates, however, there are conflicting reports on the importance of the other variables.

One of the earliest inquiries into probation was conducted by the Cambridge Department of Criminal Science in Britain, in 1958.[5] Their sample, drawn from records built up over a period from January, 1948 to December, 1953, dealt exclusively with those offenders who were found guilty of indictable offences and put on probation by courts in the Middlesex and London areas and whose probation orders had terminated in the years 1948, 1949 and 1950. In discussing success and failure rates, the study distinguished between two stages - conduct while the probation order was still in force and conduct after the completion or termination of the order. The study found a 79 percent success rate during probation, that is, 79 percent of the probationers successfully completed probation without a further offence, and a 74 percent success rate after the completion of probation. The overall success rate was 70 percent. (N=4316) The study examined the general success rates and found they varied according to sex, age, and number of previous convictions. Success rates were consistently higher for women than for men; and for both sexes they were highest for offenders aged thirty and over. First offenders were more successful than those with previous convictions, and among recidivists, the success rate was higher for offenders with only one previous offence than for those with two or more.

Landis, Mercer and Wolff in a 1969 study[6] related a series of background and treatment variables to the likelihood of success or failure on probation for 791 adult male offenders. Their sample was all adult males who had been granted probation by the superior courts in Sacramento County, California, between 1956 and 1963. Failure was defined as the revocation of probation either because the probationer violated the conditions established by the court or was convicted for a new offence, thus in terms of the Cambridge study, it was concerned with success during probation. The study found a success rate of 52.5 percent. A lengthy series of background and treatment variables were related to the general rate and the study divided them into antisocial behavior variables, social background variables and conditions of probation variables. Landis, Mercer and Wolff found the greatest differences between the successes and failures were in the antisocial behavior category. Probationers with a juvenile record, an adult record, or a past history of disciplinary problems in the military were much more likely to fail. The crimes they committed, autho thefts, cheque offences and forgeries, also differentiated them from the successes. In terms of social background, the failures were more likely to come from lower educational levels and lower socioeconomic statuses. They were also more unstable which was reflected by a high incidence of marital difficulties and a greater tendency to move from job to job. In regard to conditions of probation, certain conditions, such as the ordering of restitution, were more prevalent in the case histories of the failures than of the successes. Landis, Mercer and Wolff found no significant age differences between successes and failures, however they had a large number of forgers in the sample who were highly recidivistic and also significantly older than the average. When they were removed from the sample, the expected relationship between age and recidivism was found.

The Ontario Probation Officer's Association[7] conducted a study of those adults placed on probation in nine areas of varying population densities in Ontario. Probationers who terminated in 1961 were selected and were allowed a follow-up period of three years. Failure was defined as revocation of probation either because of a further offence or violation of the probation order's terms and/or a further indictable offence during the three-year follow up period. It thus, in terms of the Cambridge study, looked at overall success rates. The OPOA found that 68.3 percent of the probationers were successful.

Females were more successful than males and the more concentrated the area in terms of population, the lower the success rate. Type of offence was also examined. Assaults had the lowest success rates and thefts and related property offences the highest. This appears to contradict Landis, Mercer and Wolff's finding but may be an artifact due to different classification systems. Not enough information is given in either study for an adequate comparison.

Martin Levin, in a review of studies comparing prison and probation, mentions one in particular that seems of relevance here. Beattie and Bridges in 1970[9] analyzed the recidivism rates of offenders who were either granted probation or were incarcerated by the superior courts of California's thirteen largest counties. All superior court probation cases for the first six months of 1966 for twelve of the thirteen counties and 30 percent of those probation cases from Los Angeles were included. The Superior Court is the county trial court in California; its criminal jurisdiction includes all serious offences, thus the study included individuals on probation for homicide, robbery, assaults, forged cheques, auto theft, 'other'theft, sex offences, drug law violations and 'other' offences. Success in this study was taken as no known arrest for a new crime or for a technical violation of probation during a one year follow-up period. The success rate for those granted probation, an over-all rate, was 65.8 percent. (N=2,148) Beattie and Bridges found significant variations in success rates according to age, race, prior convictions, and type of offence. As in other studies, the younger the defendant, the more likely he was to repeat; the greater his prior record, the more likely he would again get into trouble. This study also found racial differences. Negro offenders had lower success rates than whites. Type of offence data supported Landis, Mercer and Wolffs' finding. Those who had committed sex offences and crimes against persons, (homicide, robbery, and assaults) had the highest success rates; those that had committed auto theft, burglary, and drug law violations had the lowest success rates.

In comparing studies on probation, various methodological problems emerge. The population that is selected may be different in different studies and this could affect rates. For example, Landis, Mercer and Folff's relatively low success rates of 52.2[10] percent could be in part due to the fact that they considered only males. As has been reported, females have a substantially higher success rate than males, thus we would expect any study that did not include females in the calculation of an over-all success rate

to have lower rates than those that did. The definition of success and failure could also affect rates. The more stringent the criteria, the lower the success rate. Levin[11] illustrates this problem when he points out that the lower success rate of Beattie and Bridges' study in contrast to a number of similar studies was in part due to the more stringent criteria of success than they employed. The method of classifying type of offence is another factor that has to be considered in comparing studies. As was mentioned previously, the OPOA found those who had been convicted of assaults to have lower success rates than those convicted of thefts and related property offences, a finding that was in direct opposition to the reported success rates of the Landis, Mercer, and Wolff study. Part of this discrepancy can be attributed to different classification systems. Landis, Mercer and Wolff included forgery and cheque offences in their property offence category, whereas the OPOA considered them separately. This difference may have contributed to the conflicting results. All these factors have to be taken into consideration in comparing studies. It is only by taking into account different target populations, operational definitions of major terms, statistical analyses, and so on, that meaningful comparisons of success rates become possible.

III. THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

To facilitate the understanding of this study and any comparisons of it to other studies, it is essential to define its major terms. J. Andenaes,[12] in a survey of various recidivism studies conducted in Scandinavia, stresses the necessity of adequately defining one's terms. The necessity of this step becomes apparent when considering the difficulties we encountered in comparing studies.

Since probation is the concern of the present research, it should perhaps be first discussed. Provisions for probation were contained in the Criminal Code of Canada initially under the Probation Officers Act, March 30th, 1962, and then under the Corrections Act, July 1st, 1970. Under Section 663 of the Criminal Code, the Court may make an Order placing a person on probation for a period not exceeding three years after considering the nature of the offence, its circumstances, and the age and character of the accused. As taken from the Alberta Probation Branch's Orientation Manual for New Employees,[13] probation may be defined as follows:

> "It is a form of disposition under which the Court, having convicted a person of an offence, suspends the passing of sentence and directs that the person be released conditionally under prescribed terms and rules, and subject to the supervision of some person appointed by the Court".

Thus, for the purposes of this study, probation is "A judgment or sentence in a criminal case, giving the offender an opportunity to improve his conduct and to readjust himself to the community on conditions imposed by the Court and often under the guidance and supervision of the Court."[14]

The present study is concerned only with adult offenders. An adult offender is a person who commits an offence contrary to the Criminal Code or other Federal Statutes. In Alberta, the dividing age between juveniles and adults is sixteen years of age for males, and eighteen years of age for females.

A criminal conviction, for the purposes of this study, is a conviction for an offence committed against the Criminal Code of Canada, the Narcotic Control Act, The Food and Drug Act, and the Juvenile Delinquents Act. Convictions under the Liquor Control Act and the Highways Act, Provincial Statutes, were not considered to be criminal offences.

Another important term is previous convictions. Any adult criminal conviction occuring prior to the conviction for which the offender received a probation term was

included. Prior juvenile convictions were not included.

Recidivism rates were used to gauge probation effectiveness. When recidivism is spoken of here, it refers to further criminal convictions following the conviction for which the offender was placed on probation. These further convictions were counted not only for the time period on probation but also for the time after the probation was completed until the end of 1972.

The success or failure of probation is reflected in the recidivism rate. Success was defined as the completion of the probationary term as well as the follow-up period without any further criminal convictions. Failure, on the other hand, was the unsuccessful completion of the time period in question due to further criminal convictions.

IV. DATA COLLECTION

A. Data Sources

Data was collected by examining the Alberta Probation Branch files at its Head Office in Edmonton and coding the information onto a questionnaire. Personal interviews of Probation Officers were considered as an alternative method of gathering data, however the use of the files was favoured for several reasons. It would have been difficult for the Probation Officers to have remembered all of their cases in the depth required for the present research, especially those cases in the early 1967's. Even if some recall was possible, the Probation Officers' memories of their clients, distorted by the passage of time, could have contributed to the biasing of the data. There was also the problem of staff turnover. Many of the Probation Officers, especially those employed in the early years of the study, would have been difficult to contact due to transfers and resignations. The primary advantage of using the files was that they were readily accessible and contained all the required information. After consideration of time and monetary factors, coding the information from the files onto a questionnaire seemed most practical.

Information on Alberta probationers was available from two sources: the Alberta Adult Probation Branch files at its Head Office in Edmonton, and the R.C.M. Police Crime Index Division, Edmonton office. The questionnaire was developed in such a way as to derive maximum information from the sources available.

The files from the Alberta Adult Probation Branch provided most of the information about the probationers. Each file included a Probation Order, a Pre- or Post-Sentence Report, and usually a Termination Summary.

The Probation Order stated the offence, the sentence issued, and the date probation began.

The Pre- and Post-Sentence Reports[15] are social histories based on an investigation of the life circumstances of the offender. Pre-Sentence Reports are written prior to sentencing and often include a recommendation by the Probation Officer to the Court which suggests a suitable sentence for the offender. Post-Sentence Reports, on the other hand, are written after direct sentencing by the Court and do not include such a recommendation.

Pre- and Post-Sentence Reports are divided into five sections: Probation Report, Personal History, Family History, Evaluation, and Disposition. Data from each of the five divisions was used for the purposes of the present study. The Probation Report supplied such general information as subject's name, age and birthdate, address, present charge and previous convictions. Personal History supplied the offender's ethnic origin, education, present employment, marital status, and number of children. The head of the household's occupation was taken from the Family History. Evaluation stated the recommendation made by the Probation Officer to the Court for sentencing of the offender. Post-Sentence Reports, written after the sentence was issued, were minus this information.

The Termination Report yielded information on the probationer's attitude and behaviour during probation and a prognosis for the client's future adjustment. In the earlier files, the Probation Officers had a Termination Report Form to fill out which explicitely called for a summary of attitude and behavior and a prognosis for future adjustment. Later this form was replaced by a termination summary, a discussion of the client's probation term. While this did not require a specific appraisal of attitude, behavior and prognosis, this information was often included.

The second major source of information was the R.C.M. Police Crime Index Office, Edmonton Division. They supplied the criminal records of the probationers for any crime committed across Canada. From these records, the crucial information on new convictions was obtained. It was from this data that recidivism rates were calculated. A check on the prior records reported in the Pre-Sentence and Post-Sentence Reports was also made by using this criminal record.

B. The Questionnaire

The questionnaire was divided into five sections, each pertaining to a specific area of interest about the probationer. The sections were Probation Report, Personal History, Evaluation, New Convictions, and Prognosis. To permit a better understanding of the present study and the implications of its results, these sections shall be discussed in more depth.[16]

The Probation Report Section was concerned with the charge for which the offender received a probation term, as well as the offender's previous convictions. The fourteen

categories used in the 'present charge' question were derived from the monthly Police Statistical Reports of the City of Edmonton's Police Department. These categories, supplemented by several examples in each, were as follows:

a)	Assaults -	Common Assault, Assault Occasioning Bodily Harm, Assault of a Police Officer
b)	Break and Enter -	Housebreaking, Being in a Dwelling house with intent, Shopbreaking, Possession of House-breaking equipment
c)	Disorderly Conduct -	Causing Disturbance in or near public place, Disturbance of Occupants of a dwelling
d)	Fraud -	Forging and Uttering, Obtains Food and Lodging by, Obtaining Transportation by
e)	Drugs -	Possession of, Possession for the purposes of Trafficking, Trafficking
f)	Murder -	Non-capital, Attempted, Manslaughter
g)	Possession of Stolen Property -	Of things obtained by crime
h)	Robberies -	While armed, with violence
i)	Sexual Offences -	Indecent Assault, Gross Indecency, Incest, Prostitution
j)	Theft -	Under $50.00, Over $50.00, Shoplifting, Auto Theft
k)	Vagrancy -	No visible means of support (No longer a criminal offence as of May, 1972)
l)	Vice -	Living off the Avails, keeping a commong bawdy-house, Procurring
m)	Weapons-	Possession of Firearms, Pointing Firearm, Possession of offensive weapon
n)	Other -	Contributing to Juvenile Delinquency, Child Neglect, Attempting Suicide, Willful Damage, Trespassing, Impaired Driving, Dangerous Driving.

The question referring to the month placed on probation requires some clarification. The date on which probation began was recorded rather than the actual date of sentencing. For example, if probation was preceded by a six month term in prison, then the date on which probation began would be six months later than the date on which the sentence was issued. In regard to the two questions concerning previous convictions, only actual convictions for offences were counted.

The Personal History section pertains to the life circumstances of the offender. Residence was divided into two categories, rural and urban. The centers in Alberta which were classed as urban were Edmonton (including St. Albert and Sherwood Park), Red Deer, Calgary, Lethbridge and Medicine Hat. All other areas of the Province were included in the rural category. Residence of the offender was taken as the place where he was living at the time the offence was committed.

Several factors were considered when categorizing offenders as to their education. If the offender had completed the final grade in one category and had begun the next grade, he was put into the next category. For example, even if a person had only one week of Grade 10, he was placed in the Grades 10 - 12 category instead of the Grades 7 - 9 category. Trade and technical schooling were not categorized since only academic schooling was being considered.

Employment also, requires consideration. One point must be mentioned about the question determining the offender's present employment. Housewives were coded in 9) category. However, in the following question, the type of employment which they held prior to becoming housewives, was categorized. The types of employment which the offenders held when employed were divided into seven classificiations. These, accompanied by several examples, are as follows:

1)	Professional -	Teacher, nurse, dentist, minister
2)	Proprietor or Manager -	Garage owner, office manager, store owner
3)	Clerical -	Accountant, secretary, insurance broker
4)	Skilled -	Welder, Hairdresser, foreman, nursing orderly, (Occupations requiring training and for which certification may be obtained)
5)	Semi-skilled -	Truck driver, mailman, heavy equipment operator, apprentices for skilled trades
6)	Unskilled -	General laborer, janitor, waitress
7)	Student -	Those attending either public school or University

Marital status in this study referred to the probationer's marital status at the actual time of the offence. For instance if a person was separated but at the time of the offence was living common-law, then common-law would be the marital status recorded. On point requires clarification in regard to the offender's number of children. If a woman was pregnant, then the expected child was also included in determining family size.

Since the questions in the Evaluation Section are self-explanatory, the next Section, New Convictions, shall be discussed. First, it must be again emphasized that new convictions were tallied until December 31st, 1972. The relatedness of the new convictions to the probation offence was based upon the classification system used to categorize the offences for which the probationers received their terms. For example, all categories under theft were considered similar - from shoplifting to theft over $50.00.

In the Prognosis Section, the categories were not as clearly defined as in other sections due to the subjective nature of the questions. However, the Probation Officers appeared to have some guidelines which influenced their assessments of the probationers. The classification of attitude and behavior during probation could be better clarified by describing some of the characteristics which the Probation Officers considered in their assessments of their clients. A probationer would be assessed as showing unacceptable attitudes and behavior if he had displayed general irresponsibility. He may have had sporadic or no employment, may have been truant from school, may not have reported to his Probation Officer regularly, may have neglected his family, and most important, may have committed new offences. Conversely, these characteristics would not have been as evident in the acceptable category. To be categorized as showing excellent attitudes and behavior, the probationer must have demonstrated a great sense of responsibility and have shown no further criminal inclinations. The Probation Officer's prognosis for his client's successful future adjustment is generally self-explanatory. As the prognosis categories change from poor to fair to good to excellent, the likelihood of the client re-offending decreased.

The questionnaire was developed in order to permit the coding of information which would then increase the efficiency of data collection. After the necessary information was taken from the probationers' files and criminal records, and was coded by one researcher onto the questionnaire, the coding was rechecked by another researcher. The coded information on the questionnaires was then keypunched onto computer cards. The keypunching was also verified by matching the numbers on each of the cards with those on the corresponding questionnaires. The information was finally ready to be used for the purposes of the present study.

V. SAMPLE

A. Selection of the Sample

The sample was selected from the files of the Alberta Adult Probation Branch at its Edmonton Head Office, where a complete record of all persons placed on probation in Alberta is kept. Our sample was selected from the files of those offenders placed on probation between January 1st, 1967 and December 31st, 1971.

The study was concerned with adult offender's response to probation. Since the sample was selected in Alberta, males had to be sixteen years or older and females eighteen years or older. All had to be sentenced in an Alberta Court for an offence contrary to the Criminal Code of Canada or other Federal Statutes. The offender had to receive a disposition of probation whether it was granted alone, in combination with a fine, in combination with a prison term, or as a combination of all three. It was not necessary for the offender to be an Alberta citizen, only that the crime was committed in Alberta and dealt with by an Alberta Court.

There were approximately 14,000 files between January 1st, 1967 and December 31st 1971. Every fifth file was chosen yielding a sample size of 2,726. Only files having complete information for our purposes were used. A complete file contained first, a Probation Order or a termination report which stated the offence, the sentence issued, and the date probation began, and second, a Pre- or Post-Sentence Report from which personal data about the offender could be derived. At times, it was impossible for every fifth file to be used. In these cases another file was chosen by the following method. One researcher consistently drew the preceding file, while the other drew the succeeding file. This did not lessen the randomness of the sample since the researchers each drew alternate groups of five files.

Files had to be excluded for a number of reasons:

1) The files lacked complete information. A series of files had to be excluded because they concerned a community study being conducted on impaired driving and did not contain adequate information for the present study's purpose.

2) The offender died during his probation term.

3) The offender was initially put on probation in another province.

4) The offender's probationary term had begun before January 1st, 1967 or after December 31st, 1971. This problem was encountered in a number of cases when a combination sentence of prison and probation was issued and probation had not yet begun by December 31st, 1971.

5) The offender received a prison term after an appeal of a charge for which probation was the original disposition.

The quality of the sample, by nature of the technique utilized, was as good as or as bad as the filing system from which it was drawn. Fortunately this was one of the advantages of the present study. The Head Office of the Alberta Adult Probation Branch maintains a complete set of files on all those people who have been or are presently on probation in Alberta. The files come to the Head Office from the sixteen Alberta Probation Offices. As each file enters the Head Office filing system, it is assigned a number. Since the files arrive randomly, there is no ordering of files, thus assuring the randomness of the sample. The files are divided into two groups. Open files are kept on those probationers who are presently on probation, while closed files are kept on all those offenders whose probation has been terminated. Both sets of files were readily available, and as the selected number came up, the file was drawn from whichever set of files it happened to be in.

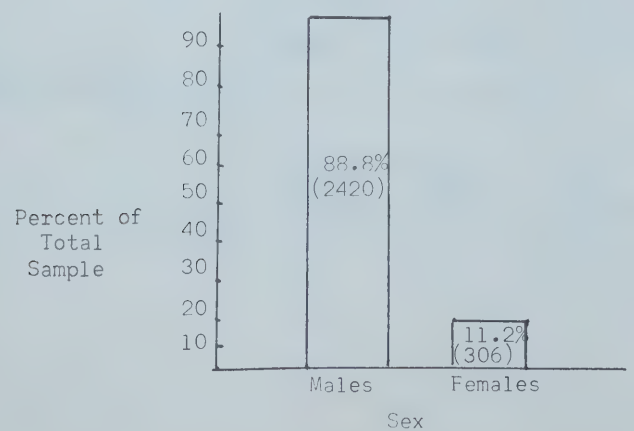
B. Characteristics of the Sample

As already mentioned, the number of probationers in the sample was 2,726. Following is a more in depth description of the different characteristics of the sample.

Sex and Age

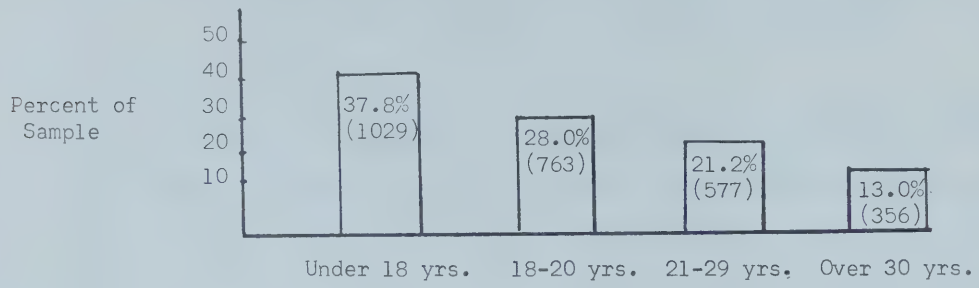
Out of the 2,726 probationers in the sample, 2,420 were male and 306 were female. Thus approximately nine out of every ten probationers were males.

Figure I Sex of the Probationers



When age was considered, more than half of the sample, 65.8 percent, were under the age of 21 years. Those under 18 years of age constituted the largest group. As age increased, the number of probationers in the categories decreased.

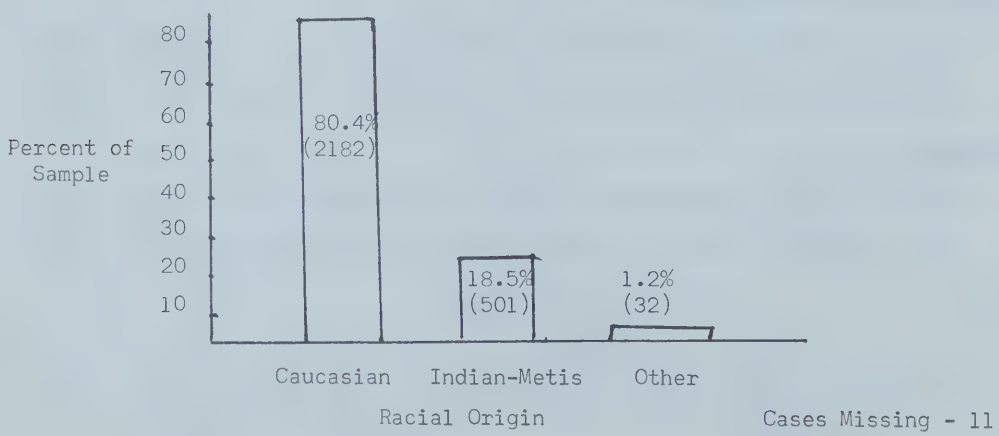
Figure 2. Age of Probationers



Racial Origin

The two major racial categories in the present research were Caucasian and Indian-Metis. By far, the number of Caucasian probationers outnumbered the number of Indian-Metis probationers, as only 18.5 percent were Indian Metis, while 80.4 percent were Caucasian. People of races other than Caucasian or Indian-Metis constituted only 1.2 percent of the sample.

Figure 3. Racial Origin



Marital Status and Number of Children

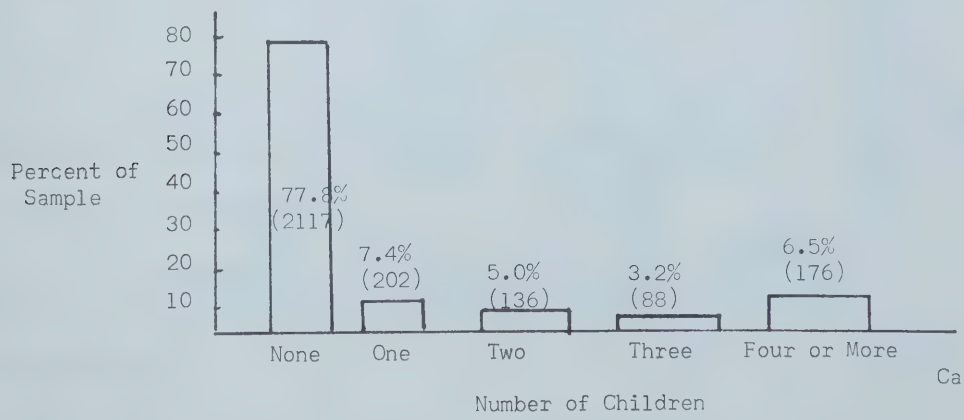
The majority of the probationers were single, comprising 74.6 percent of the sample. Those who were legally married constituted 14.5 percent of the sample, while 5.2 percent were living in a common-law relationship. 1.0 percent had been previously married and were now divorced, while 4.4 percent were separated at the time of their offences. Very few people, only 0.3 percent of the total sample, were widowed.

Figure 4. Marital Status

Cases Missing -

The percentage of probationers who did not have children was 77.8 percent. Of the 22.2 percent that had children, most had only one child. 7.4 percent of the sample had one child, 5.0 percent had two, 3.2 percent had three, and 6.5 percent had four or more.

Figure 5. Number of Children

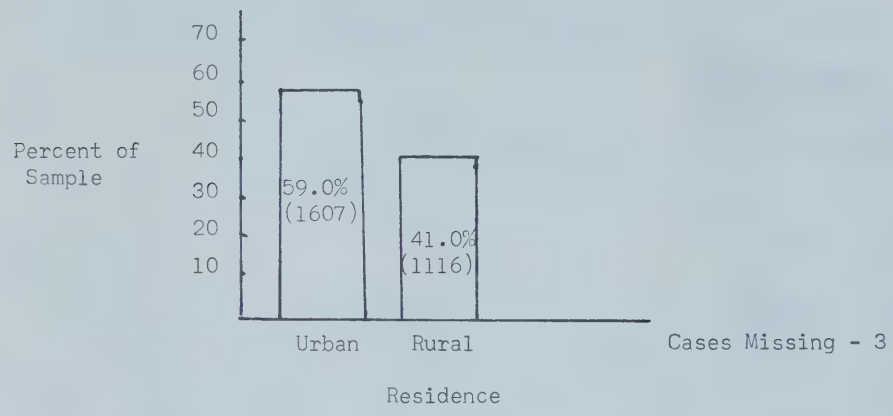


Cases Missing- 6

Residence

The location of the probationer's residence was classified as either urban or rural. Although more probationers came from an urban area, the proportion was not that much greater than those coming from rural areas. 59 percent of the sample was derived from urban areas while 41 percent was derived from rural area.

Figure 6. Residence of Probationer

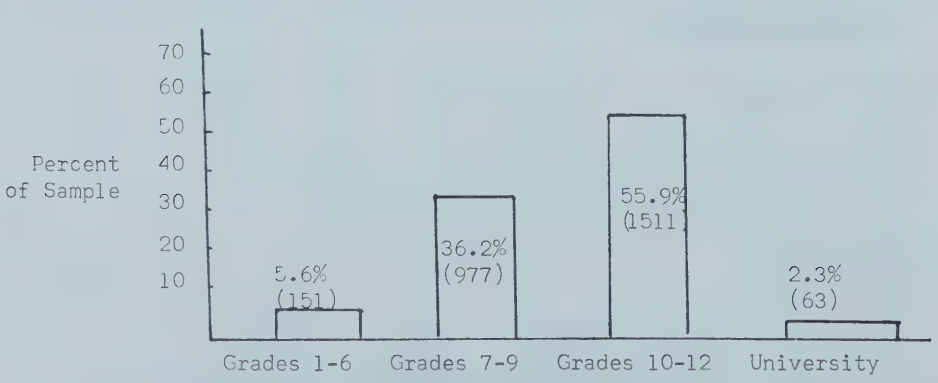


Cases Missing - 3

Education

More than one-half of the probationers in the sample, 55.9 percent, were in the Grades 10 to 12 category. The second largest category, Grades 7 to 9, contained 36.2 percent of the sample. The elementary education and post-secondary education categories had the least numbers of probationers with 5.6 percent in the Grades 1 to 6 division and 2.3 percent in the University division.

Figure 7. Educational Level of the Probationers

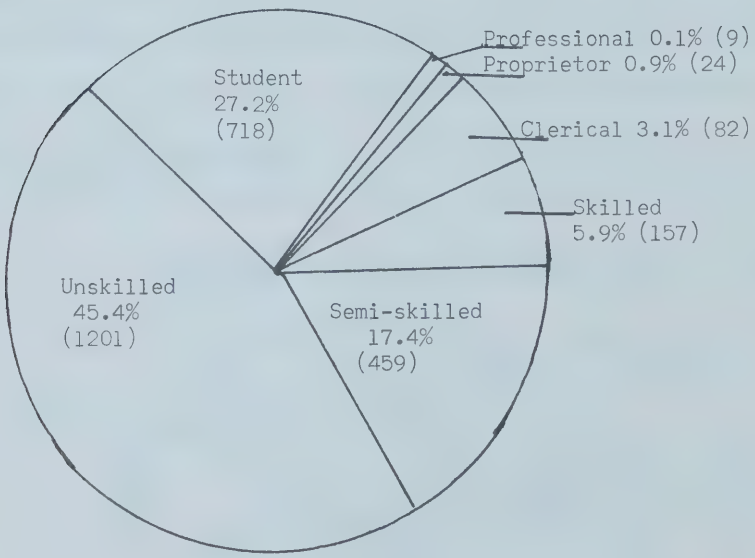


Cases Missing - 24

Employment

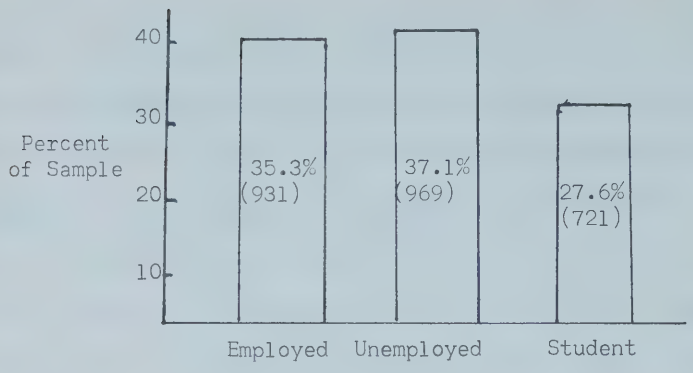
When the probationers were categorized according to their type of employment, the largest group fell into the unskilled category. 45.4 percent of the offenders were unskilled. Students, the second largest group, consituted 27.2 percent of the sample. The semi-skilled group was the third largest containing 17.4 percent of the sample. The remaining four categories which contained the higher ranking occupations accounted for only 10.1 percent of the total sample. 5.9 percent of the probationers in the sample were skilled, 3.1 percent had clerical occupations, and only 0.1 percent fell into the professional category.

Figure 8. Type of Employment When Employed



At the time the probationers committed their offences, 35.3 percent were employed and 27.6 percent were students. The remaining 37.1 percent, a rather large portion of the sample, was unemployed.

Figure 9. Employed, Unemployed, or Student



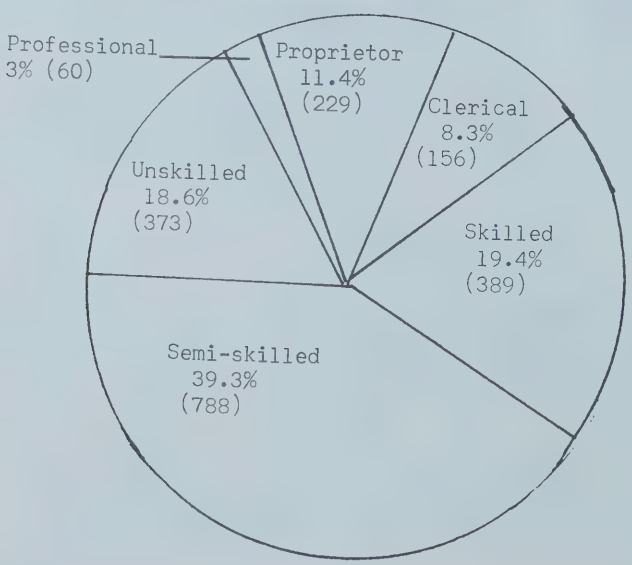
Cases Missing - 115

Employment Status

Father's Occupation (or Head of Household)

Most of the probationers' fathers had semi-skilled occupations - 39.3 percent were in this category. Almost equal numbers were in the skilled and unskilled categories, 19.4 percent had skilled occupations, while 18.6 percent had unskilled occupations. Again, the higher occupational levels accounted for a much smaller portion of the total sample. 8.3 percent of the households' heads were in the clerical category, 11.4 percent were in the proprietor-managerial category, and 3.0 percent were in the professional category.

Figure 10. Father's Occupation (or Head of Household)

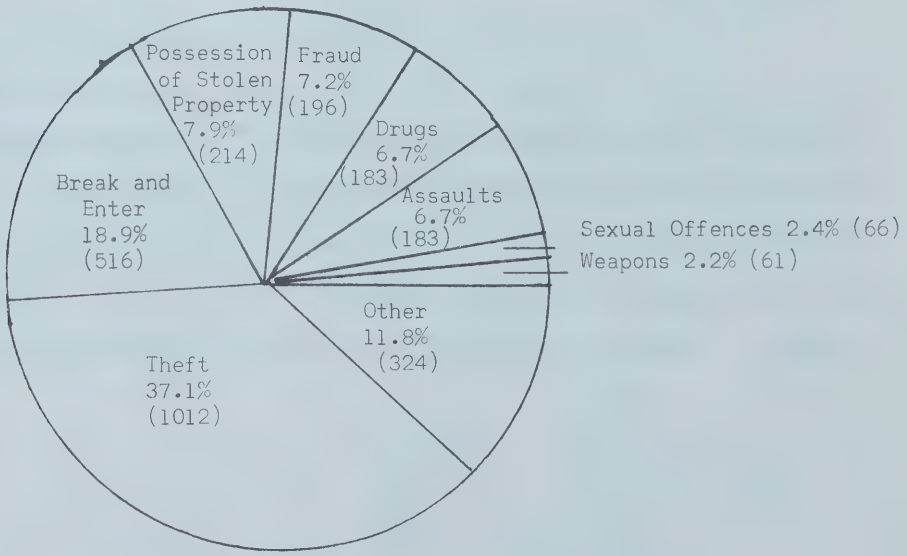


Cases Missing - 721

Probationer's Present Charge and Disposition

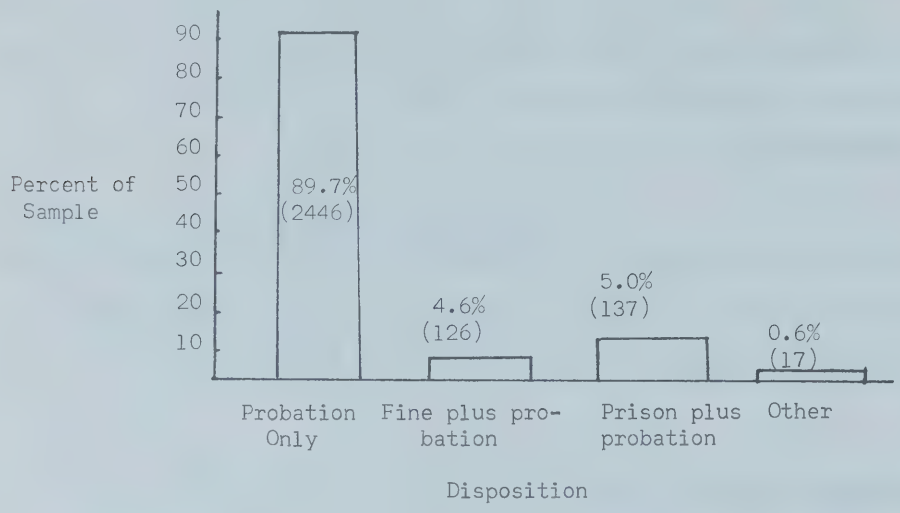
Of the thirteen categories used to classify the offences for which the probationers received their present terms, the thefts category contained the highest number of cases. There were at least twice as many thefts as any other types of offences. 37.1 percent of the probationers had committed thefts, while 18.9 percent had committed break and enter offences, the second largest division. The possession of stolen property, fraud, assault, and drugs categories each had similar percentages of the total sample. The respective percentages were 7.9 percent, 7.2 percent, 6.7 percent, and 5.6 percent. The sexual offence and weapons categories also had nearly equal percentages of offenders with 2.4 percent of the probationers committing sexual offences and 2.2 percent committing weapon offences. Because the combined offence categories of disorderly conduct, robberies, vagrancy and vice contained only 1.3 percent of the total sample, they were combined in the following graph with the category of 'other' offences into which 10.5 percent of the cases had fallen.

Figure 11. Probationer's Present Offence



Of all the probationers in the present study, 89.7 percent had received a disposition of only probation, 4.6 percent had received a combined sentence of fine plus probation, and 5.0 percent had received a combined sentence of prison plus probation. Only 0.6 percent had received other combinations such as fine plus prison plus probation.

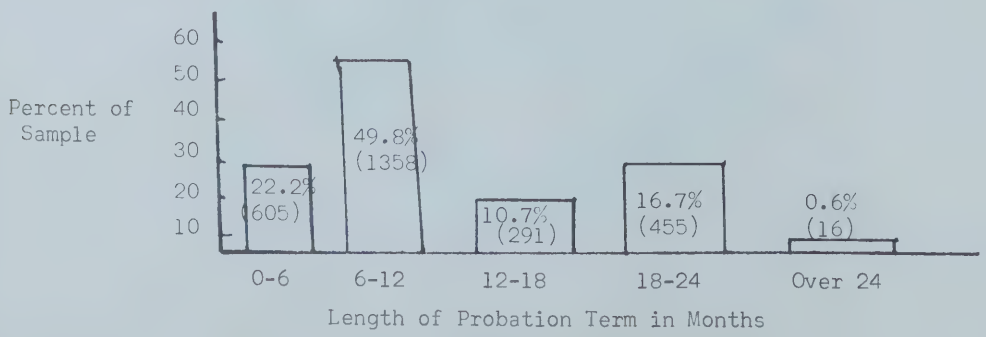
Figure 12. Disposition



Sentence Length

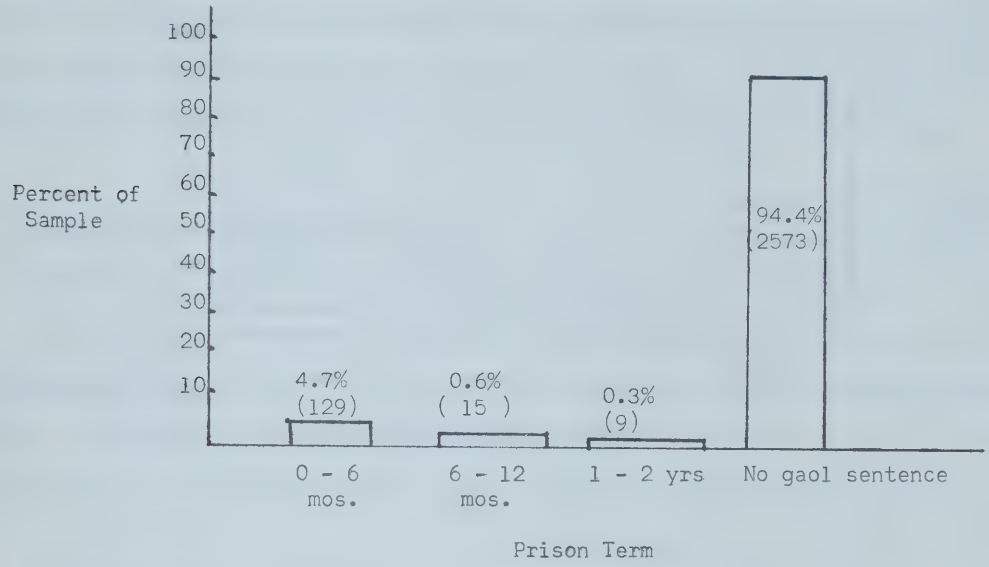
Nearly one-half of the probationers in the sample, 49.8 percent, received a probation term of six to twelve months. The 0-6 month category was next largest with 22.2 percent of the probationers falling into it. The third most common probation term, a period of 18-24 months, was issued to 16.7 percent of the sample. Only 10.7 percent of the probationers received a 12-18 month term. Very few probationers, 0.6 percent, were given a term exceeding two years in duration.

Figure 13. Length of Probation Term



The majority of the probationers in the sample, 94.4 percent, did not receive a combination sentence which included incarceration. Nearly 5 percent were given a prison term of less than 6 months. A gaol sentence of length 6-12 months was issued to only 0.6 percent of the sample while an even smaller portion, 0.3 percent, received a term of 1-2 years.

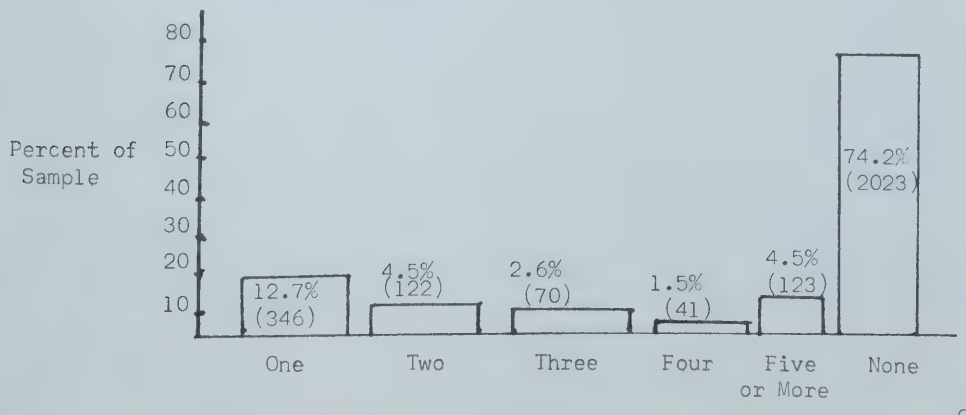
Figure 14. Length of Prison Term



Previous Convictions

Of the 2726 probationers in the sample, 2023 had no previous convictions. This constituted 74.2 percent of the sample. Thus only 25.8 had any previous convictions. Of these, one-half had only one conviction. 4.5 percent of the sample had two, 2.6 percent had three, 1.5 percent had four, and 4.5 percent had five or more.

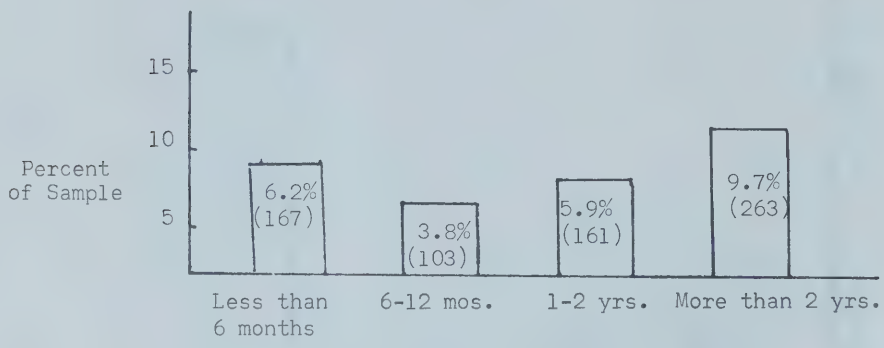
Figure 15. Number of previous Convictions



Cases Missing - 1

Of the 25.8 percent of the probationers who had previous convictions, 9.7 percent had their most recent previous conviction more than two years prior to their present conviction. 6.2 percent had a previous conviction in the prior 6-month period, 3.8 percent had a conviction in the prior 6-12 month period, and 5.9 percent had a previous conviction in the prior 1-2 year period.

Figure 16. Most Recent Previous Convictions



Cases Missing - 12

Time of Most Recent Previous Convictions

VI. FINDINGS

A. Introduction

The primary purpose of this study was to provide an evaluation of the effectiveness of probation. Recidivism rates, following the practice of the majority of related studies, were used as the measure of effectiveness. In accordance with the suggestion of the Cambridge Department of Criminal Science[17] overall success and failure rates have been supplemented with the success and failure rates during the term of probation and the success and failure rates after the completion of probation. These addition rates aid comparison of this study with others which may have used only one or the other.

B. General Success and Failure Rates

Of the total 2726 probationers, 1664 successfully completed their term of probation, with no appearance in court while the order was in force, and no reconviction during the follow-up period. (see Table 1) A total of 1062 were unsuccessful, either by reoffending while on probation or during the follow-up period. This yields an overall success rate of 61.0% - a rate well within the range suggested by other studies.

As would be expected, the success and failure rates during and after probation were higher than the overall rate. (see Tables 2 and 3) The success rate during probation was 75.6%; the rate after completion of probation was 75.2%.

The pattern of number of new convictions was the same in all three failure rates. Most recidivists had only one subsequent conviction. The percent having numerous reconvictions was fairly small.

Table 1: Overall Success and Failure Rates, 1967 - 1972

Total Number of New Convictions	%	N
none (success)	61.0	1664
one	18.4	501
two	9.4	257
three	4.5	124
four	2.7	73
five or more	3.9	107

Table 2: Success and Failure Rates During Probation, 1967-1972

Total Number of New Convictions	%	N
none(success)	75.6	2061
one	15.5	422
two	5.5	149
three	2.2	60
four	0.8	21
five or more	0.5	13

Table 3: Success and Failure Rates After Completion of Probation, 1967 - 1972

Total Number of New Convictions	%	N
none (success)	75.2	2049
one	14.2	386
two	5.2	141
three	2.5	67
four	1.3	36
five or more	1.7	47

C. Success and Failure Rates in Relation to Important Background and Treatment Variables

In Integration to the Literature, numerous variables were discussed as affecting the success and failure rates of probationers. Landis, Mercer, and Wolff[18] classify all these variables into three categories: social background, antisocial behavior, and conditions of probation. As they point out, the categories are not completely separate or mutually exclusive, but they do provide a fruitful way of examining the data. Since the categories do bring some order to the confusion of variables, they will be used here.

1. Social Background and Personal History Variables

Data related to the nine social background and personal history variables are presented in Tables 4, 5 and 6. Discussion will be limited to the patterns displayed in the overall rates unless the during probation or the after completion of probation rates suggest something different.

Most of the variation in the overall success rate could be accounted for by the four variables occupation, education, racial origin and sex. The other variables, marital status, employment status, age, father's occupation, and number of children, produced significant differences between the successes and the failures, but accounted for only a small amount of the variation.

In regards to occupation, the higher the ranking of the occupation, the higher the success rate. That is, the unskilled probation was more likely to reoffend than the professional. Students were intermediate. They were as successful as the skilled probationers but less successful than the professionals. The only other study that considered occupation found similar results. Landis, Mercer and Wolff reported[19] that the jobs the failures held were ranked lower in prestige than the jobs the successes held.

Education differentiated between the successes and the failures in a way reflecting the occupational division. The highest success rates were achieved by those who had some university education. The poorest were from those offenders having grades seven to nine. Those with only an elementary education were slightly more successful, but less successful than those with a high school education. This supports Landis, Mercer, and Wolff's finding[20] that failures on probation are more likely to have less than a high school education.

The difference between males and females in regards to their recidivism rates have been well documented.[21] This study found similar results. Women were much less likely to reoffend than were men.

The other personal and social background variables accounted for much less of the variation in overall success rates than did the four previously discussed. They did, however, provide significant differences between the successes and the failures. Married individuals were more successful than unmarrieds. The failures were likely to be single.[22] Those living in a common-law relationship were the next least likely to succeed. Probationers who were unemployed at the time of their offence were more likely to fail than students or those who were employed. The younger the defendant, the more likely he was to repeat. It was the youngest offenders who had the lowest success rates and these rates increased for each age category. The lower in prestige the father's occupation, the lower the success rate of the probationer. Those from families where the father was a professional had the greatest chance of succeeding. The failures were much less likely to have children. If a probationer did have children, the more he had, the higher his success rate.

The lack of a strong measure of association was surprising in the case of marital status and age, if one looks at the previous literature. Age was mentioned as a significant variable in the Cambridge study,[23] Beattie and Bridges' study,[24] and in the article by J. Andenaes.[25] Landis, Mercer and Wolff initially found no significant age differences between successes and failures, but a relationship was revealed when the large number of forgers were controlled for. Marital status was one of three variables found by Babst and Mannering[27] to best differentiate between violators and nonviolators. They, in fact, suggest that it is of such importance that Wisconsin judges use it in determining sentences. Landis, Mercer, and Wolff[28] also found a relationship between recidivism and marital status. Their failures were more likely to be divorced or separated; their successes to be married. It is difficult to compare these studies with ours because they do not provide any measures of association. A relationship was reported if it was significant, but no mention was made of how much of the variation was accounted for. It may be that the measures of association were quite low, but because the other variables that we found to be important were not considered, they appeared higher than they would have

otherwise.

The variables that proved important in accounting for the during probation rates were employment status, occupation, and marital status, in that order. The only variable that was significant in the after completion of probation rates was racial origin. This suggests that different factors are at work in the two time periods. During probation, being occupied, either as a student or in some type of employment, increases the chances of succeeding. Being married, as versus single, increases them even more. In the long run though, the most important variable in determining if a probationer will 'make it' or not is race. Less than fifty percent of Indian and Metis probationers can be expected to succeed.

A relationship that was expected but did not turn up was between residence and number of new convictions. J. Andenaes[29] reports that recidivism is higher in the cities. The OPOA[30] use residence as one of three variables differentiating successes from failures, finding that the more concentrated the population, the lower the success rate. In our study, no difference was found between urban and rural offenders. Both were equally likely to reoffend. This lack of a relationship existed when race, age and occupation were controlled for suggesting that, for at least Alberta, place of residence does not affect success or failure on probation.

Table 4: Relation of Social and Personal Background Variables to Success or Failure on Probation - Overall Rates

Variable	Total N	Number of Cases Successful	% Successful	Significance[31]	Measure of Association[32]
AGE					
under 18	1029	550	53.4	.0000	0.130
18-20 yrs.	763	478	62.6		
21-29 yrs.	577	386	66.9		
30 & over	356	249	69.6		
SEX					
male	2420	1415	58.5	.0000	0.148
female	306	249	81.4		
RACIAL ORIGIN					
Caucasian	2182	1408	64.5	.0000	0.169
Indian-Metis	501	227	45.3		
Other	32	23	71.9		
EDUCATION					
grades 1-6	151	92	60.9	.0000	0.169
grades 7-9	977	502	51.4		
grades 10-12	1511	999	66.1		
university	63	56	88.9		
OCCUPATION					
professional	3	3	100.0	.0000	0.174
proprietor	24	17	70.8		
clerical	82	67	81.7		
skilled	157	106	67.5		
semi-skilled	459	305	66.4		
unskilled	1201	625	52.0		
student	718	485	67.5		

Table 4: continued

Variable	Total No. of Cases	Number of Cases Successful	% Successful	Significance	Measure of Association
EMPLOYMENT STATUS					
employed	921	588	63.8	.0000	0.140
unemployed	969	501	51.7		
student	721	488	67.7		
MARITAL STATUS					
single	2034	1170	57.5	.0000	0.142
married	395	293	74.2		
separated	120	79	65.8		
divorced	27	24	88.9		
common-law	141	89	63.1		
widowed	9	9	100.0		
CHILDREN					
none	2117	1235	58.3	.0000	0.106
one	202	139	68.8		
two	136	101	74.3		
three	88	64	72.7		
four or more	176	120	68.2		
FATHER'S OCCUPATION					
professional	60	39	65.0	.0000	0.119
proprietor	229	154	67.2		
clerical	166	109	65.7		
skilled	389	240	61.7		
semi-skilled	788	500	63.5		
unskilled	373	185	49.6		

Table 5: Relation of Social and Personal Background Variables to Success or Failure During Probation

Variable	Total N	Number of Cases Successful	% Successful	Significance	Measure of Association
AGE					
under 18	1029	712	69.2	.0000	0.130
18-20 yrs.	763	580	76.0		
21-29 yrs.	577	472	81.8		
30 and over	356	296	83.1		
SEX					
male	2420	1783	73.7	.0000	0.126
female	306	278	90.8		
RACIAL ORIGIN					
Caucasian	2182	1711	78.4	.0000	0.137
Indian-Metis	501	317	63.3		
Other	32	25	78.1		
EDUCATION					
grades 1-6	151	117	77.5	.0000	0.133
grades 7-9	977	671	68.7		
grades 10-12	1511	1197	79.2		
university	63	59	93.7		
OCCUPATION					
professional	3	3	100.0	.0000	0.160
proprietor	24	21	87.5		
clerical	82	74	90.2		
skilled	157	124	79.0		
semi-skilled	459	367	80.0		
unskilled	1201	818	68.1		
student	718	585	81.5		

Table 5: continued

Variable	Total N	Number of Cases Successful	% Successful	Significance	Measure of Association
EMPLOYMENT STATUS					
employed	921	739	80.2	.0000	0.172
unemployed	969	634	65.4		
student	721	588	81.6		
MARITAL STATUS					
single	2034	1468	72.2	.0000	0.148
married	395	351	88.9		
separated	120	99	82.5		
divorced	27	24	88.9		
common-law	141	110	78.0		
widowed	9	9	100.0		
CHILDREN					
none	2117	1543	72.9	.0000	0.117
one	202	171	84.7		
two	136	118	86.8		
three	88	76	86.4		
four or more	176	146	83.0		
FATHER'S OCCUPATION					
professional	60	50	83.3	.0000	0.123
proprietor	229	183	79.9		
clerical	166	131	78.9		
skilled	389	297	76.3		
semi-skilled	788	616	78.2		
unskilled	373	243	65.1		

Table 6: Relation of Social and Personal Background Variables to Success or Failure After Completion of Probation

Variable	Total N	Number of Cases Successful	% Successful	Significance	Measure of Association
AGE					
under 18	1029	713	69.3	.0000	0.110
18-20 yrs.	763	589	77.2		
21-29 yrs.	577	455	78.9		
30 and over	356	291	81.7		
SEX					
male	2420	1780	73.6	.0000	0.105
female	306	269	87.9		
RACIAL ORIGIN					
Caucasian	2182	1708	78.3	.0000	0.156
Indian-Metis	501	306	61.1		
Other	32	27	84.4		
EDUCATION					
grades 1-6	151	111	73.5	.0000	0.144
grades 7-9	977	662	67.8		
grades 10-12	1511	1197	79.2		
university	63	60	95.2		
OCCUPATION					
professional	3	3	100.0	.0000	0.127
proprietor	24	20	83.3		
clerical	82	75	91.5		
skilled	157	126	80.3		
semi-skilled	459	367	80.0		
unskilled	1201	836	69.6		
student	718	556	77.4		

Table 6: continued

Variable	Total N	Number of Cases Successful	% Successful	Significance	Measure of Association
EMPLOYMENT STATUS					
employed	921	701	76.1	0.0162	0.056
unemployed	969	696	71.8		
student	721	559	77.5		
MARITAL STATUS					
single	2034	1488	73.2	0.0002	0.094
married	395	323	81.8		
separated	120	93	77.5		
divorced	27	26	96.3		
common-law	141	110	78.0		
widowed	9	9	100.0		
CHILDREN					
none	2117	1558	73.6	0.0060	0.073
one	202	160	79.2		
two	136	115	84.6		
three	88	72	81.8		
four or more	176	139	79.0		
FATHER'S OCCUPATION					
professional	60	48	80.0	.0000	0.125
proprietor	229	186	81.2		
clerical	166	131	78.9		
skilled	389	295	75.8		
semi-skilled	788	610	77.4		
unskilled	373	241	64.6		

2. Antisocial Behavior Variables

Data related to the three antisocial behavior variables are presented in Tables 7, 8, and 9.

None of these variables, the offence the probationer committed, the number of previous convictions he had, or the time of the most recent previous conviction, accounted for all that much of the variation in the overall success and failure rates. Of the three, the time of the most recent previous conviction was the most important. If the previous conviction was less than a year from the offence the individual was given probation for, the individual could have been expected to have lower success rates than if it was more than two years prior. The number of previous convictions was next in importance. Probationers with no previous convictions were most successful, those with five or more were least successful. The variation in success rates by charge was fairly narrow.[33] Those convicted of drug offences were slightly more successful with a 74.0 percent rate and those convicted of break and enter were slightly less successful with a 55.8 percent rate, however most of the success rates clustered around the 63.5 percent mark.

Looking at the during probation rate, all three variables became more important, particularly the time of the most recent previous conviction. When you look at the after completion of probation rate, however, the only variable of any significance is charge. The number of previous convictions and the time of the most recent previous conviction are the best indicators of success or failure. After probation, it is the charge that the offender was given probation for that is most important in determining if he will succeed or not.

Number of previous convictions and charge are two variables that the literature suggests are very important. With respect to number of previous convictions, the Cambridge study,[34] Beattie and Bridges' study,[35] J. Andenaes'article,[36] Landis, Mercer and Wolff's study[37] and Babst and Mannering's study[38] all conclude with a similar result to ours. The greater the offender's prior record, the more likely he is to repeat. Those with no prior record can be expected to have the highest success rates and these rates will decrease for each level of a prior record. Our study found, however, that it was not the fact of previous convictions per se that was of upmost importance, but the time of the most recent of the previous convictions. Those convictions more than two years

prior had virtually no impact on later recidivism rates. It was the previous convictions which occurred within two years of the offence probation was given for that were important. Our study also found that previous convictions and their closeness to the time of the probation conviction were important variables only for the time on probation. Their impact on success after the completion of probation was fairly minimal.

Previous literature on the success rates of different kinds of offenders (i.e. sex offenders, property offenders) is contradictory. Babst and Mannering[39] and Landis, Mercer, and Wolff[40] report that property offenders were less successful than offenders committing crimes against persons. The OPOA[41] report the exact opposite. They found that offenders committing assaults were less successful than offenders committing the property offence theft. Our study found yet another result. Both those groups committing assaults and the property offences, theft, possession of stolen property, and break and enter were less successful than the average. The individuals who were successful were the ones committing fraud, drug offences, and sexual offences. The high success rates for sexual offenders is supported by the OPOA[42] and Beattie and Bridges,[43] but Beattie and Bridges[44] report low success rates for those individuals convicted of drug offences. Part of these conflicting results could undoubtedly be accounted for by methodological reasons, but because of lack of information in the published studies it is difficult to account for the discrepancies.

Table 7: Relation of Antisocial Behavior Variables to Success or Failure on Probation - Overall Rates

Variable	Total N	Number of Cases Successful	% Successful	Significance	Measure of Association
CHARGE					
assaults	183	106	57.9	0.0015	0.108
break and enter	516	288	55.8		
disorderly conduct	17	9	52.9		
fraud	196	122	62.2		
drugs	154	114	74.0		
stolen property	214	130	60.7		
robberies	9	3	33.3		
sexual offences	66	44	66.7		
theft	1012	608	60.1		
vagrancy	8	3	37.5		
vice	3	3	100.0		
weapons	61	41	67.2		
other	287	193	67.2		
NUMBER OF PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS					
none	2023	1295	64.0	.0000	0.139
one	346	201	58.1		
two	122	62	50.8		
three	70	40	57.1		
four	41	23	56.1		
five or more	123	42	34.1		
MOST RECENT PREVIOUS CONVICTION					
no previous conviction	2020	1294	64.1	.0000	0.144
6 months	167	71	42.5		
6-12 months	103	44	42.7		
1-2 yrs.	161	80	49.7		
2 yrs.	263	169	64.3		

Table 8: Relation of Antisocial Behavior Variables to Success or Failure During Probation

Variable	Total N	Number of Cases Successful	% Successful	Significance	Measure of Association
CHARGE					
assaults	183	143	78.1	0.0001	0.120
break & enter	516	350	67.8		
disorderly conduct	17	13	76.5		
fraud	196	143	73.0		
drugs	154	123	79.9		
stolen property	214	157	73.4		
robberies	9	4	44.4		
sexual offences	66	54	81.8		
theft	1012	775	76.7		
vagrancy	8	6	75.0		
vice	3	3	100.0		
weapons	61	51	83.6		
other	287	239	83.3		
NUMBER OF PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS					
none	2023	1584	78.3	.0000	0.135
one	346	249	72.0		
two	122	83	68.0		
three	70	52	74.3		
four	41	26	63.4		
five or more	123	66	53.7		
MOST RECENT PREVIOUS CONVICTION					
no previous conviction	2020	1581	78.3	.0000	0.160
6 months	167	93	55.7		
6-12 months	103	61	59.2		
1-2 yrs.	161	107	66.5		
2 yrs.	263	212	80.6		

Table 9: Relation of Antisocial Behavior Variables to Success or Failure After Completion of Probation

Variable	Total N	Number of Cases Successful	% Successful	Significance	Measure of Association
CHARGE					
assault	183	130	71.0	0.0004	0.114
break & enter	516	386	74.8		
disorderly conduct	17	11	64.7		
fraud	196	155	79.1		
drugs	154	139	90.3		
stolen property	214	164	76.6		
robberies	9	5	55.6		
sexual offences	66	54	81.8		
theft	1012	732	72.3		
vagrancy	8	4	50.0		
vice	3	3	100.0		
weapons	61	47	77.0		
other	287	219	76.3		
NUMBER OF PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS					
none	2023	1549	76.6	0.0004	0.091
one	346	255	73.7		
two	122	84	68.9		
three	70	54	77.1		
four	41	33	80.5		
five or more	123	73	59.3		
MOST RECENT PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS					
no previous conviction	2020	1548	76.6	0.0019	0.079
6 months	167	110	65.9		
6-12 months	103	67	65.0		
1-2 yrs.	161	115	71.4		
2 yrs.	263	200	76.0		

3. Condition of Probation Variables

Data related to the three conditions of probation variables are presented in Tables 10, 11, and 12.

None of these variables, length of probation, disposition, or length of prison term (if applicable), account for very much of the variation in the overall success rates. Length of probation becomes more important in accounting for the variation in the during probation rates and the after completion of probation rates, but disposition and length of prison term remain insignificant.

An accurate assessment of the factors operating here is difficult as the probation conditions imposed are related to the offender's criminal history. A positive relationship was seen between number of new convictions and length of probation, that is, the longer the time on probation, the more new convictions both during and after the probationary term, but this does not necessarily indicate that recidivism is a specific function of length of probation. The relationship is likely an artifact of the Court's decision-making process. Those offenders who are 'poor risks' are given longer probationary terms and it is exactly these offenders who are going to reoffend.

Table 10: Relation of Conditions of Probation Variables to Success or Failure on Probation - Overall Rates

Variable	Total N	Number of Cases Successful	% Successful	Significance	Measure of Association
LENGTH OF PROBATION					
0-6 months	605	404	66.8	0.0003	0.092
6-12 months	1358	829	61.0		
12-18 months	291	150	51.5		
18-24 months	455	269	59.1		
over 24 months	16	12	75.0		
DISPOSITION					
probation	2446	1487	60.8	0.0333	0.057
fine & probation	126	90	71.4		
prison & probation	137	75	54.7		
other	17	12	70.6		
LENGTH OF PRISON TERM					
No prison term	2573	1577	61.3	0.1594	0.044
0-6 months	129	69	53.5		
6-12 months	15	11	73.3		
1-2 yrs. less a day	9	7	77.8		

Table 11: Relation of Conditions of Probation Variable to Success or Failure During Probation

Variable	Total N	Number of Cases Successful	% Successful	Significance	Measure of Association
LENGTH OF PROBATION					
0-6 months	605	537	88.8	.0000	0.204
6-12 months	1358	1035	76.2		
12-18 months	291	186	63.9		
18-24 months	455	290	63.7		
over 24 months	16	12	75.0		
DISPOSITION					
probation	2446	1854	75.8	.0000	0.109
fine & probation	126	111	88.1		
prison & probation	137	81	59.1		
other	17	15	88.2		
LENGTH OF PRISON TERM					
no prison term	2573	1965	76.4	.0007	0.079
0-6 months	129	78	60.5		
6-12 months	15	11	73.3		
1-2 yrs. less a day	9	7	77.8		

Table 12: Relation of Conditions of Probation Variables to Success or Failure After Completion of Probation

Variable	Total N	Number of Cases Successful	% Successful	Significance	Measure of Association
LENGTH OF PROBATION					
0-6 months	605	432	71.4	.0000	0.137
6-12 months	1358	996	73.3		
12-18 months	291	209	71.8		
18-24 months	455	396	87.0		
over 24 months	16	16	100.0		
DISPOSITION					
probation	2446	1823	74.5	0.1497	0.044
fine & probation	126	102	81.0		
prison & probation	137	111	81.0		
other	17	13	76.5		
LENGTH OF PRISON TERM					
no prison term	2573	1925	74.8	0.1884	0.042
0-6 months	129	102	79.1		
6-12 months	15	14	93.3		
1-2 yrs. less a day	9	8	88.9		

D. Success and Failure Rates in Relation to the Judgments of the Probation Officer

When a client completes his probationary term, the probation officer is expected to conclude the case by writing up a termination summary. In most instances, this summary reviews the client's probationary term and gives some prognosis for his future adjustment. Our questionnaire coded both pieces of information. One question concerned the attitude and behavior of the probationer during his probationary term and the other concerned the probation officer's assessment of his client's future adjustment.

The categories used for attitude of client during probation were acceptable, unacceptable and excellent. (See Table 13). The majority of the cases fell into the acceptable category. Of the 2130 cases that had completed probation and had a termination summary included in the file, 1399 displayed acceptable behavior. The distribution was negatively skewed in that more of the probationers showed unacceptable behavior than excellent behavior. Slightly over twenty-four percent were classified as being of poor attitudes and behavior while approximately ten percent were classified as showing excellent attitudes and behavior during probation.

The categories poor, fair, good and excellent were used to code prognosis for future adjustment. (See Table 14). The category with the largest number of cases was good, with 46.7 percent of the 1572 cases. Again the distribution was negatively skewed. Almost forty percent of the cases fell in the fair and poor categories while only slightly more than thirteen percent fell in the excellent category.

Table 13: Attitude of Client During Probation

Attitude	%	N
unacceptable	24.7	526
acceptable	65.7	1399
excellent	9.6	205

Table 14: Prognosis For Successful Future

Prognosis	%	N
poor	19.8	312
fair	20.0	315
good	46.7	734
excellent	13.4	211

One of the factors the probation officer used in deciding how to classify a probationer as to his attitudes and behavior on probation and his future adjustment was the probationer's success or failure rate while on probation. It thus makes no sense to crosstabulate attitude of client during probation and prognosis for future adjustment with success and failure rates during probation because in essence, you would be cross-tabulating the same thing. A more interesting question would be the nature of the relationships between the success rate after probation and the attitude of the client during probation and his prognosis for future adjustment. This would provide information on first, how a probationer's attitudes and behavior on probation relate to his future behavior and second, how accurate the probation officer is in predicting his client's future.

Table 15 displays the relationship between attitude of client during probation and success or failure after completion of probation. The relationship one would expect is found. The poorest success rates are displayed by those clients with unacceptable attitudes and behavior during probation. The best success rates are from those probationers with excellent attitudes and behavior during probation. This suggests that attitudes and behavior while under supervision are an accurate tool to use in determining future recidivism.

Table 16 displays the relationship between prognosis for future behavior and success or failure after completion of probation. As the probation officer's assessment of his client's future behavior became more positive, the likelier the probationer was to succeed. Those probationers with a poor rating were the most likely to reoffend; those with an excellent rating were the least likely. The relationship is significant and fairly strong suggesting that the probation officer is able, in many of his cases, to accurately predict his client's future behavior.

Table 15: Relation of Attitude of Client During Probation to Success or Failure After Completion of Probation

Attitude of client during probation	Total N	Number of Cases Successful	% Successful	Significance	Measure of Association
unacceptable	526	313	59.5	.0000	0.216
acceptable	1399	1103	78.8		
excellent	205	182	88.8		

Table 16: Relation of Prognosis for Successful Future to Success or Failure After Completion of Probation

Probation Officer's Assessment of client's future	Total N	Number of Cases Successful	% Successful	Significance	Measure of Association
poor	312	174	55.8	.0000	0.258
fair	315	212	67.3		
good	734	593	80.8		
excellent	211	188	89.1		

C. Conclusions

A large amount of data was collected in connection with the present study. Because of time and space, only a small portion of it was analyzed and discussed here. A number of interesting results were revealed by the work that was done, but a great deal remains to be completed before any firm conclusions can be reached.

One important result which did become clear through our research was the necessity of differentiating between success and failure rates during probation and success and failure rates after the completion of probation. Overall rates suggest general trends, but when you look at the two time periods separately, you find that different variables are operating in the different time slots. By concentrating on overall rates, many important relationships may be overlooked.

During probation, we found that employment status (whether the probationer was employed, unemployed or a student), occupation, the time of the most recent previous conviction in relation to the probation conviction (six months, one year, two years), and marital status were the variables that best differentiated between successes and failures. This neither proves nor disproves any of the previous literature because they did not consider all the variables we did. It does suggest areas where future research must be expanded. For example, previous research usually used number of previous convictions as an important variable in differentiating successes from failures, but we have shown that the timing of the previous convictions is of even more importance.

After probation, the only variable that accounted for any important degree of association was racial origin. Before any firm conclusions can be reached concerning this, the large number of confounding variables must be considered. (As a first step, however, it does suggest some depressing things about Alberta's native population.)

VII. FUTURE RESEARCH AND SUGGESTIONS

The present research was Alberta's pilot study in the field of probation evaluation. It was concerned with determining the recidivism rates of criminal offenders placed on probation in Alberta. Recidivism rates for both the period of time while on probation as well as for the period after probation terminated were assessed. Also of concern was the discovery of certain characteristics displayed by the recidivists which could then be used to determine the likelihood of any probationer re-offending.

As the present research was Alberta's pilot study in probation evaluation, many areas still exist which must be looked at more closely in the future. Seriousness of the new offences requires scrutiny. In the present study, only the commission of new offences and their relatedness to the probation offence was of concern. In the future, it could prove worthwhile to determine whether the new convictions are more or less serious than the offence for which the offender received his probation term. Whether the new convictions for offences committed during probation are as serious as those offences committed after probation has ended, could be of interest. The offences committed by probationers during their terms, for example, may be less serious than those committed after probationary supervision has ended.

After it has been determined whether the new convictions are more or less serious than the one for which the probation term was issued, it would be of interest to determine which offenders progress from lesser to more serious offences and vice versa. Those offenders who commit thefts might be most likely to commit more serious crimes in the future, progressing to break and enters and then to armed robbery. Such probationers might also display certain traits characteristic of those offenders who commit increasingly serious offences. Other offenders may commit less serious new offences and might be characterized in a similar manner.

When considering previous convictions in the present research, only the prior adult criminal convictions were tabulated. It might prove informative in future research, to include another category of previous convictions where the probationer's convictions as a juvenile were counted. It might then be shown that those probationers who are likely to become recidivists usually have lengthy criminal records as a juvenile. Seriousness of the previous convictions could be considered here as well. The offences committed

when the offender was a juvenile may have been relatively minor with the seriousness increasing through the offender's adult record.

In future research, the probationary supervision itself, may also be investigated. Intensity of supervision as linked to recidivism might be studied. It may be shown that monthly reporting and low recidivism rates are correlated while more intense supervision on a weekly basis does not decrease the recidivism rates appreciably. Sex of the Probation Officer could possibly have some influence on recidivism rates. A female Probation Officer might be better able than a male Probation Officer to relate to a female probationer, thereby helping the probationer with her life problems and decreasing her likelihood of committing any new offences.

All of the suggestions for future research already mentioned, have dealt with a more intense look at probation. Possibilities exist, however, for a comparison of the effectiveness of alternate methods of sentencing offenders. The present study was concerned with evaluating probation only. It can easily be expanded into a comparison of the effectiveness of probation and incarceration as two methods of dealing with offenders. In fact, the questionnaire used in the present study was developed for this purpose. Comparing sentences of probation, incarceration, and fines could prove worthwhile. The Corrections Service could then be provided with feedback on the usefulness of its methods of dealing with criminal offenders.

In future research two problems which were encountered while collecting data for the present research, must be dealt with. The first concerned previous convictions. The previous convictions reported by the probationers in the Pre-Sentence and Post Sentence Reports were often incorrect. To increase accuracy, they were checked against the criminal records in the R.C.M. Police Crime Index files. In future research an attempt must also be made to check on the number of previous convictions as reported in the Pre-Sentence and Post-Sentence Reports. Another problem encountered was the often omission of the termination summaries in the Pre-Sentence and Post-Sentence Reports. In the present research these summaries yielded information on the probationer's attitude and behavior during probation and a prognosis for his future adjustment. When they were missing, this information could not be included. Hopefully in the future, a better attempt shall be made to include these summaries in the Pre-Sentence and Post-Sentence Reports.

APPENDIX 1

Adult Probation in Alberta

The Alberta Adult Probation Branch was established in 1954. Previously both the federal and provincial governments had been concerned only with juvenile offenders. Therefore when the Adult Probation Branch was first established, it was under the direction of the Juvenile Offenders Branch. Although both branches were part of the Attorney General's Department, they were separate entities. In 1963, they amalgamated forming the Juvenile Offenders and Adult Probation Branch. By 1970 the two branches had again become separate when the custody of the juvenile offenders was transferred to the Department of Social Development.

Since the Alberta Adult Probation Service arose from legislation concerning juveniles, this legislation should be discussed. The federal Juvenile Delinquent Act of 1908 was the first legislation in Canada concerned with the treatment of juvenile offenders. A major revision took place in 1929, and it is this legislation that is still in effect at present. In Alberta the first legislation dealing with juveniles was the Juvenile Courts Act passed in 1914. Continuous revisions were made of this legislation until finally the Juvenile Court Act of January 1952 was passed. This alleviated much of the confusion which had previously arisen because neglected children and juvenile delinquents were transferred to the Attorney General's Department and were committed to the care and custody of the Juvenile Offenders Branch.

The Juvenile Offenders Branch was given additional responsibility with the establishment of the first Family and Juvenile Court in Edmonton in November 1952. When the Adult Probation Branch was established in 1954, it was also placed under the direction of the Juvenile Offenders Branch even though they remained separate entities. The two branches were united into one for the seven years from 1963 to 1970. Ties between the two branches were finally severed in 1970.

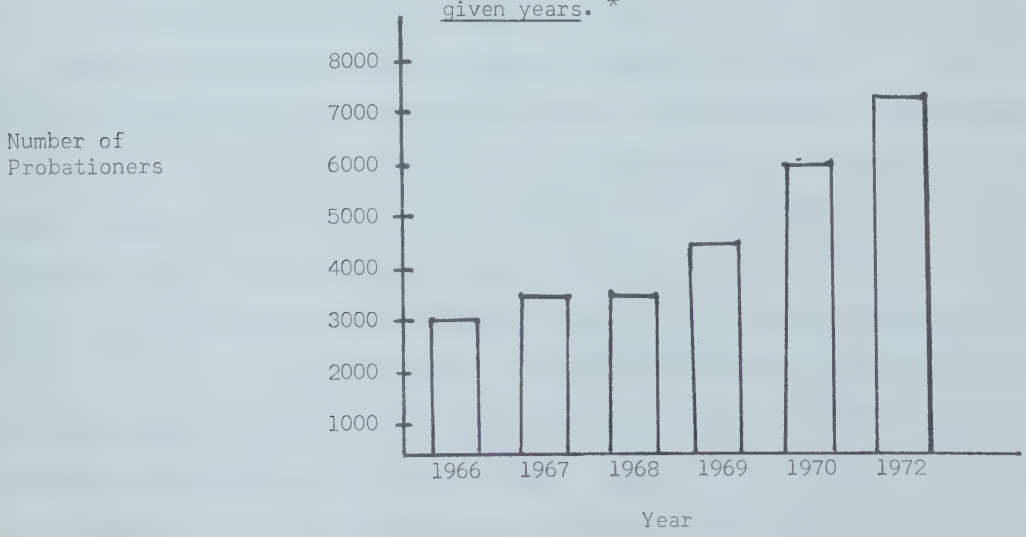
The use of probation as an adult correction has greatly intensified since 1954. In that year there were only two adult probation offices, one in Edmonton and one in Calgary. By 1973, nineteen offices were in existence. These offices are widely spaced throughout the province, drawing their clients from all areas of Alberta. The centers in which offices are located are Edmonton, Calgary, Red Deer, Medicine Hat, Lethbridge,

Drumheller, Hardisty, Vegreville, Wetaskiwin, Edson, Peace River, Grande Prairie, High Prairie, and Fort McMurray. Edmonton and Calgary each have two offices, one dealing exclusively with adult probation and the other solely with family court matters. Other offices are concerned both with adult probation and family court matters.

As more offices became necessary to supervise the increasing number of offenders placed on probation, more probation officers were also needed. In 1954, there were only two probation officers, one in each of the existing offices. Only one year later, twelve adult probation officers were already in the provincial service. By 1960, the number had increased to thirty-five. Fifty-five were necessary by 1964. The number of probation officers required has continued to escalate so that in 1972, there were one hundred and thirty-one probation officers in Alberta.

The increase in both the number of adult probation offices and officers can be accounted for by the great increase in the number of criminal offenders sentenced to a probation term. This great increase in the number of probationers is evident in the following graph even though it spans a time period of only seven years.

Figure 1: Number of Adult Probationers in Alberta for given years. *



*All figures are for the years from April 1 to March 31 except for 1972 which is for the period from January 1, to December 31.

In the one period from April 1, 1966 to March 31, 1967, a total of 3042 offenders were on probation. From January 1, 1972 to December 31, 1972 a tremendous increase had taken place with 7252 having served a probation term in this one year period.

As seen in the preceding graph, a sudden sharp increase in the number of offenders on probation occurred between 1969 and 1970. This increase may be accounted for not only by a natural growth in population and by less punitive views in sentencing, but also because of several amendments to the Criminal Code. On June 27, 1969 assent was given to three changes in the Criminal Code concerning probation which directly affected the number of people placed on probation. Probation could now be in effect for three years instead of the previous two. This increased the number of people being supervised at any one time. A second amendment increased the eligibility for probation from that of a first offender to any offender where a minimum punishment is not provided by law. Many formerly ineligible persons could now be placed on probation. A third amendment provided for combination of sentences of fines plus probation and goal plus probation. Offenders who would formerly have been only incarcerated, might now receive an additional probation term as well.

Since more and more emphasis is being placed on probation as a type of correction in Alberta, the Adult Probation Branch is becoming increasingly concerned with its effectiveness. An effective probation service is dependent upon well-trained and competent staff. Therefore new probation officer recruits are possessing more training and education, often of a university level. More native workers too, are being hired because it is thought that they can establish better rapport with the Indian offenders. Utilization of the services of volunteer workers is also growing. Volunteers can gain the friendship and trust of the probationers more easily than the Probation Officers who must often act as authoritarian figures at the same time.

Recently there has been a trend in the Alberta Adult Probation Branch towards an expansion of their field of interest. Preventive programs and evaluation research are being given more consideration. A present preventive program, for example, is the Community Awareness Program. In it, all officers are prepared to accept speaking engagements and provide information to schools and other agencies. The Alberta Adult Probation Research Study is the Branch's first attempt to evaluate probation in Alberta.

Hopefully such preventive programs and evaluation projects will be extended in the future.

Thus the Adult Probation Service in Alberta has developed to such an extent that it may now be referred to as "the corner stone of modern correctional care." Most probably probation will be used even more intensely during the coming years.

APPENDIX 11

An Example of a Pre-Sentence Report

As much of the information coded onto the questionnaires was derived from Pre-Sentence and Post Sentence Reports, it seemed necessary to include an example of such a report in appendix. The following Pre-Sentence Report does not concern any real person but is instead a fictitious character developed from a combination of the traits displayed by the majority of the probationers in the present study. For instance, most of the probationers in the present research were convicted of theft and were usually given a probation term of six to twelve months. Therefore the fictitious probationer in the following Pre-Sentence Report had committed a theft for which he received a probation term. The probationer's other traits were derived in a similar manner.

DEPARTMENT OF ATTORNEY GENERAL

ADULT PROBATION SECTION

Docket Number: 00000
Custody or Bail: Own Recognizance

Date of Request: October 16, 1971
Place of Trail: Edmonton
Remanded to: November 2, 1971
Justice or Judge: A.C. Legal
Defense Counsel: B.B. Plea
Probation Officer: C.T. Aid

PROBATION REPORT

Name:	PROBATIONER, Oscar Typical
Age & Birthdate:	17 years - September 3, 1954
Address:	123 Main Street, Edmonton
Present Charge(s):	Section 295 Canadian Criminal Code - Taking an Automobile without the owners consent.
Previous Convictions:	None.
Plea Entered:	Guilty

PERSONAL HISTORY

Birthplace:	Edmonton, Alberta
Religious Affiliation:	Non-attender
Ethnic Origin:	Father: Caucasian Mother: Caucasian
Education:	Grade 10 completed
Health:	Good
EMPLOYMENT HISTORY:	The subject did not return to school to begin his Grade 11 in September. He is presently unemployed.
MARITAL STATUS:	Single
Spouse's Name:	N/A
Maiden Name:	N/A
Address:	N/A
Age:	N/A
Date & Place of Marriage:	N/A
Religious Affiliation:	N/A

Education:	N/A
Employment:	N/A
Children:	N/A
HOME CONDITIONS:	The subject resides with his parents in a comfortable family dwelling.
USE OF LEISURE TIME:	Movies, dances, parties, spends a great deal of time with his girlfriend.
HABITS:	Alcohol: Yes Tobacco: Yes Drugs: No
Financial Status:	No assets - No debts
Future Plans:	Hopes to return to school and complete Grade 11

FAMILY HISTORY

FATHER:	
Name:	Jake Probationer
Address:	123, Main Street, Edmonton
Birthplace:	Edmonton
Age:	51 years
Health:	Good
Religious Affiliation:	Does not attend
Occupation:	Truck Driver
MOTHER:	
Name:	Jean
Maiden Name:	Chaise
Address:	123 Main Street, Edmonton
Birthplace:	Small Town, Saskatchewan
Age:	44 years
Health:	Good
Religious Affiliation:	Regular attender
Occupation:	Housewife
SIBLINGS:	Charlie - 22 years, working Cynthia - 19 years, married Subject - 17 years Jane - 14 years, attending school

SUMMARY

The subject was born in Edmonton where he remains with his parents to date. As the subject is currently unemployed, he relies on his parents for spending money to a certain extent. He is the third oldest of four children in the family. The subject attended school regularly to June 1971, completing Grade 10. He did not return to Edmonton High in September and has not yet located employment.

EVALUATION

Your Worship, the subject is making his first appearance in Court. He seems to realize the seriousness of the present charge and does express some remorse for his behavior.

Taking into account the subject's age and the fact that this is his first appearance in criminal court, I respectfully recommend that he may be a good candidate for probation.

Disposition: 12 months probation.

Report to the Probation Officer once a month.

C.T. Aid
Probation Officer

CA:

c.c. SUPERINTENDENT
Adult Probation Branch

Date Compiled: October 27th, 1971

APPENDIX III

The Questionnaire

Following is a copy of the questionnaire developed to meet the purposes of the present study. The questionnaire can also be used should this study be extended into a comparison of imprisonment versus probation.

ADULT PROBATION RESEARCH STUDY

Name_____

Birthdate_____

Date Probation Began_____

Date Probation Ended_____

1. Case Number ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ (1 2 3 4 5)

11. PROBATION REPORT

6. Present Charge: 01)Assaults 02)Break and Enter 03)Disorderly Conduct 04)Fraud 05)Drugs 06)Murder 07)Possession of Stolen Property 08)Robberies 09)Sexual Offences 10)Theft 11)Vagrancy 12)Vice 13)Weapons 14)Other 19)NA ___ ___ (6 7)

8. Length of Probation Order: 1)None 2)0-6months 03)6-12 months 4)12-18 months 5)18-24 months 6)Over 24 months (24-36 months) 9)NA ___ (8)

9. Month Placed on Probation: 01)January 02)February 03)March 04)April 05)May 06)June 07)July 08)August 09)September 10)October 11)November 12)December 19)NA ___ ___ (9 10)

11. Year Placed on Probation: Code last two digits of year 19)NA ___ ___ (11 12)

13. Month Probation Expires: 01)January 02)February 03)March 04)April 05)May 06)June 07)July 08)August 09)September 10)October 11)November 12)December 19)NA ___ ___ (13 14)

15. Year Probation Expires: ___ ___ (15 16)

17. Months since Probation expired, to December 31, 1952: 1)None 2)0-6 months 3)6-12 months 4)12-24 months 5)24-36 months 6)36-48 months 7)48-60 months 8)60-72 months 9)NA ___ (17)

18. Number of Previous Convictions: 1)one 2)Two 3)three 4)four 5)five or more 6)none 9)NA ___ (18)

19. Most Recent Previous Convictions: 1)less than 6 months ago 2)6 months - 1 year ago 3)1-2 years ago 4)more than 2 years ago 6)No previous conviction 9)NA ___ (19)

111. RERSONAL HISTORY

20. Age: 1)under 18 2)18-20 years 3)21-29 years 4)30 and over 9)NA ___ (20)

21. Sex: 1)Male 2)Female 9)NA ___ (21)

22. Residence of Defendant: 1)Urban 2)Rural 9)NA ___ (22)

23. Racial Origin: 1)Caucasian 2)Indian/Metis 3)Other 9)NA ___ (23)

24. Education: 1)Grades 1-6 2)Grades 7-9 3)Grades 10-12 4)University 9)NA ___ (24)

25. Presently Defendant is: 1)Employed 2)Not employed 3)Student 9)NA ___ 25

26. Type of Employment: (When employed): 1)Professional 2)Proprietor 3)Clerical 4)Skilled 5)Semi-skilled 6)Unskilled 7)Student 9)NA ___ 26

27. Marital Status: 1)Single 2)Married 3)Separated 4)Divorced 5)Common-law 6)Widow(er) 9)NA ___ 27

28. Children: 1)One 2)Two 3)Three 4)Four or more 5)None 9)NA ___ 28

29. Father's (or Head of Household's) Occupation (When Employed): 1)Professional 2)Proprietor 3)Clerical 4)Skilled 5)Semi-skilled 6)Unskilled 9)NA ___ 29

IV. EVALUATION

30. Recommendation from Probation Office: 1)Prison 2)Fine 3)Probation 4)Fine and Probation 5)Prison and probation 6)No recommendation 7)Other 9)NA ___ 30

31. Disposition: 1)Prison 2)Fine 3)Probation 4)Fine and probation 5)Prison and probation 6)Other 9)NA ___ 31

32. If combination sentence with prison and probation, length of prison term: 1)0-6 months 2)6-12 months 3)12 months - 2 years less a day 4)2 years and over 5)No gaol sentence 9)NA ___ 32

V. NEW CONVICTIONS

33. Total number of new convictions: 1)one 2)two 3)three 4)four 5)five or more 6)none 9)NA ___ 33

34. Number of new convictions during Probation: 1)one 2)two 3)three 4)four 5)five or more 6)None 9)NA ___ 34

35. Their (i.e. New Convictions during Probation) Relatedness to Probation offence: 1)Similar or related offence 2)New type of offence 3)Combination - similar and new types of offence 6)Question not applicable - no offences committed 9)NA (not codable) ___ 35

36. Number of new convictions after Expiration of Probation: 1)one 2)two 3)three 4)four 5)five or more 6)none 9)NA ___ 36

37. Their (Convictions after expiration of Probation)Relatedness to Probation Offence: 1)Similar or related offence 2)New type of offence 3)Combination - similar and new types of offence 6)Question not applicable - no offences committed 9)NA (Not codable) ___ 37

VI. PROGNOSIS

38. Probation Officer's assessment of attitude and behaviour of client during period of probation: 1)Unacceptable 2)Acceptable 3)Excellent 9)NA

39. Probation Officer's prognosis for client's successful future adjustment 1)Poor 2)Fair 3)Good 4)Excellent 9)NA ___ 39

FOOTNOTES

1. A full discussion of the history of probation in Alberta can be found in Appendix 1.

2. Madeley, J., "Probation", Crime and its Treatment in Canada, p. 12.

3. Alberta Adult Probation Branch, 1972 - 1973 Annual Report.

4. Personal communication with J. Johnson, Assistant Superintendent of Correctional Institutions.

5. Radzinowicz, L., editor, The Results of Probation, p. 2-35.

6. Landis, Mercer, and Wolff, "Success and Failure of Adult Probationers in California", Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency.

7. "An Examination of the Results of Adult Probation", Canadian Journal of Corrections, Volume 9 (1967), 80-86.

8. Levin, M., "Policy Evaluation and Recidivism", Law and Society Review, Volume 6 (1971), 17-46.

9. Levin, M., p. 24-28, 30, 32.

10. Landis, Mercer and Wolff, p.55.

11. Levin, M., p.25.

12. Andenaes, J., "Recidivism in Scandinavia", International Journal of Offender Therapy, Volume 12 (1968), p. 10.

13. "What is Probation?" Orientation Manual for New Employees, p. 1.

14. "Adult Probation", Orientation Manual for New Employees, p. 1.

15. A copy of a Pre-Sentence Report can be found in Appendix 11.

16. A copy of the Questionnaire can be found in Appendix 111.

17. Radzinowicz, L., editor, The Results of Probation, p. 1-2.

18. Landis, Mercer and Wolff, p. 36.

19. Landis, Mercer and Wolff, P. 36-37.

20. Landis, Mercer and Wolff, P. 36-37.

21. Radzinowicz, L., p.32; Landis, Mercer and Wolff, p. 39; Andenaes, J. p. 13.

22. Divorced and widowed probationers have very high success rates. The total number of cases, however, is quite small, which makes the results questionable.

23. Radzinowicz, p. 32.

24. Beattie and Bridges in Levin, M., p. 27-28.

25. Andenaes, J., p. 13.

26. Landis, Mercer and Wolff, p. 39.

27. Babst and Mannering, p. 63-71.

28. Landis, Mercer and Wolff, p. 36-37.

29. Andenaes, J., p. 13.

30. "An Examination of the Results of Adult Probation", p. 84.

31. Pearson's Chi-square test of association was used to test for statistical association between variables.

32. Cramer's V was used to measure the degree of association on those cases displaying statistical significance.

33. The extreme rates were for vice (100.0 percent successful), vagrancy (37.5 percent successful), robberies (33.3 percent successful) and disorderly conduct (52.9 percent successful). These were, however, the categories with a small number of cases, thus the rates may well be inaccurate.

34. Radzinowicz, L., P. 30.

35. Beattie and Bridges in Levin, M., p. 27.

36. Andenaes, J., p. 13.

37. Landis, Mercer and Wolff, p. 37-38.

38. Babst and Mannering, p. 63-71.

39. Babst and Mannering, p. 63-71.

40. Landis, Mercer and Wolff, p. 37-38.

41. "An Examination of the Results of Adult Probation", p. 86.

42. "An Examination of the Results of Adult Probation", p. 86.

43. Beattie and Bridges in Levin, M., p. 28.

44. Beattie and Bridges in Levin, M., p. 28.

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